776 which they journeyed. Wheresoever they slept, there they set
463 them up; before them they did penance, they drew [their]
484 blood, they offered incense that they might be favored by
their god, Yiacatecutli—thus they begged and implored his
favor.[94]

All manner of places they came to and entered. And hence they were named "the merchants who lead." They took their name from their god, Yiacatecutli.

Those vanguard merchants[95] went into the coast-lands,[96] looking well for whatever goods there might be; they stretched over the southern coast-lands, they circled around the coast-lands.

They traveled exhausted by the heat and the winds; weakened, tired in the heat, they walked in great affliction. Their foreheads burned; they shaded the sun's heat with their hands [as] they plodded [under] its rays.

They shrank themselves into the deserts; they climbed up and down canyons and mountains—all places. On elbow, on knee, they thus sped, they thus took much time.

[439] Greatly were they wearied, much did they suffer, that they might find precious green stones, emeralds,[97] turquoise,[98] amber, gold; [and] feathers of all manner of birds —the [long tail feathers of the] quetzal[99] and its black [825] and green head and breast feathers;[100] the red spoonbill;[101] the blue cotingas;[102] the parrot; the trupial;[103] the eagle; and the skins of fierce animals, of ocelots.

motlatocaia, inclipa cuchiaque, vncan quitlaquetza, inpan tlamacaia, mjyo, quiyaqalaoaljia, yajc quiclaoltia ya jiaoaoh yiacatecutli, yajc quitlaoljia, yajc quimatiaqujlia, yiiocnelliz:

noujan ecitinemj, calactinemj. Auh ic mocemaca, pachoca yiaque: inch cenque, ya inca itenah, yiacatecutli:

Ontenoca, anaoc calaquijnj, vel quitemactinemj, in tlein quiiocmanaoltiaque, anaoc quiiocqualoticmemj, anaoc quiiacaxcotinemj,

tonalcitlauhtinemj, hexcaciuhtinemj, mociauhpouhtinemj, mociauhpouhtinej, elcicuhtinej, mociauhquetztinej, yuallelaciuh, yuiquca tlatlatiuh, intenol quimocuitinej, inmalomjuh ietiuh:

intlanel quiiaoajctinemj, atlauhti, tapol, quiiemouja, quiitlecaoja, inquichca ana: inmoliqui, inteupan ic tlatlacpa, ic mocpoquetza:

vel quicitiavj vel quihiiouja, ynic quiiemoa in chalchiujtl, in quetzalitzli, in teuxiujtl, yn apoçonalli, in tecujtlatl: in nepapan ihujtl, in quetzalli, in tzinjtzcan, in tlauhquechol, ziuhtotol, in tzoali, çaqua: quauhtli, in tequanemanj, yn ocelopatlatl.

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que se van cada vegez limpias, mueren sin nada ninguna: que se crean jovenes, de las que se van en aquella." Clark, in *Codex Mendoza* (James Cooper Clark, ed. and tr.; London: Waterlow and Sons, 1938), Vol II, p. 105, gives bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.).

94. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, 37-8) says they gathered the stones all together, gave with a ritchus, worshipping the stones as well as the god.

95. Traveling tradesmen who went into the *tierra caliente* (*oiiocmanaoa calaquijnj*) (Seler: *op. cit.*, p. 91). In *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Vol. II, p. 1194, Seler states: "*Yiacatecutli (der 'Herr der Nase') oder Iyacatecutli ('der Herr der Wegegangenen') war der Gott der Kaufmannschaften der ostlichen warmen calaquijnin der reisenden Kaufleute, die die grossen Handelsexpeditionen nach der Tierra Caliente leiteten und ausführten.*"

Sahagún (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164) refers to the town of Quauhtla in Antlhuac as one of the towns known for the *Xiuhtotol*.

The reference in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 330, to the *Nauahuiznaoca*, appears to refer to a guide or class of merchants inferior in rank to the *Pochteca* dialogue.

96. Antlhuac, in addition to designating the valley of Mexico, especially around the lake, refers also to the area in Southern Mexico, essentially tropical, which borders the sea coast. In the Spanish version of this chapter, Sahagún defines the area as "*todas las poblaciones, que estan ribera de la mar.*" In Book III, Chap. XII, Sahagún means "*Todavia hasta Antlhuac, que dista mas de cien leguas*" (from Tula). Also, "*Estuvieron en la provincia de Antlhuac, en todas, cinco aquellas que dan de parte del setor de Mexico son quien estaban alzados y confederados . . . . dan todas juntas hasta el pueblo de Tochtepec. En un pueblo se dividen, unos dan a Antlhuac Ayotlan; otros dan a Antlhuac Xicalanco.*"—*History general*, Vol. II, p. 334.

Seler defines Antlhuac Apoyotlan as the Pacific coastal lands and Antlhuac Xicalanco as the area of Tabasco.—*Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 456.

97. "*Las esmeraldas que se llaman quetzalitzli, las hay en esta tierra muy buenas; son preciosas, de mucho valor, llámanse así porque Quetzalli quiere decir plumas muy verdes, y assi piedra de verdor, la cual es muy pulida y tiene mucha tintgura, y estas dos cosas tiene la buena esmeralda que es muy verde, no tiene crumchas, y muy pulida y transparente es resplandeciente.*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 279.)

98. "*Turchinli, quiere decir turquesa de las dimas . . . . es turquesa fina, y sin ninguna mistela y muy turida.*"—*Loc. cit.*

99. "*Las plumas que cria en la cola se llaman quetzalli (y) son muy verdes y resplandecientes, son anchas, estan muy bajo de espaldas, doblíguense cuando las trea el aire (y) resplandecen muy hermosamente.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 163.

100. "*El tzinzlo que tiene en la cabeza esta ave (quetzaltotol) es muy hermoso y resplandeciente, llamase a estas plumas tzinitzcan; tiene esta ave el cuello y el pecho colorados y resplandecientes; a preciase este plumaje y llámanle tzinitzcan.*"—*Loc. cit.*

There also is a bird by that name: "*Hay una ave en esta tierra que se llama tzinitzcan . . . . las plumas preciosas que tiene colidas en el pecho y en las cabezas y debajo de las alas; son la mitad pintas y la mitad verdes resplandecientes.*"—*Loc. cit.*

101. *Tlauhquechol* or *tzonpachol* means red *quechol* or precious *quechol*. It is an egretic bird. "*Tiene el pecho, y la barriga, y la cola y las alas de color encarnado muy fino.*"—*Loc. cit.*

Seler gives name as *Platalea Ajaja* L. (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 603). Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 37n., gives *Platalea Ajaia* name L. (*tzonpan quechol*).

102. Sahagún defines *ziuhtotol* as a bird the size of a jay bird (*grajo*) (*op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164). Seler identifies it as *Cotinga cincta S. Cuvier* (*ibid.*, p. 624). Clark (*loc. cit.*) gives *Cotinga amabilis Gould*.

103. See Sahagún, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 164: "*Cuando vuela y extiende la cola entonces se parecen las plumas amarillas (y) verdosas al color amarillo con las negras, y así parecen estas llamas de fuego y estas son, criadas en Antlhuac.*"

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the signs which Quetzalcoatl left in place upon the stone with his hands, when he rested himself there, where he sat.

And as he supported himself by his hands on the rock, he left deep imprints, as if [it were] on mud [that] he had planted the palms of his hands. Likewise his buttocks remained well marked on the rock where he was. Verily they are [now] visible. Because of the hollows, [this place] was named Temacpalco.

And then when he arose he came to reach a place name Tepanoayan, [where] there was water. A river burst forth [which] was very wide and long. [Quetzalcoatl] laid stones and made there a bridge. Then he crossed over on it, and so it is named Tepanoayan.[1]

And once more he set forth and then came to reach another point, a place named Coaspan. And when he was there, devils sought to turn him back. They tried to send him back and stop him.

They said to him: "Where dost thou go? Where art thou bound? Why goest thou now leaving the city? To whom dost thou go leaving it? Who will perform the penances?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to the demons: "Indeed, in no way can [anyone] force [me]; for I must go [on]."

Then the demons said to Quetzalcoatl: "Whither goest thou?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to them: "I go there to Tlapallan, for I go to learn [my fate]."

And then they said to him: "What wilt thou do?"

Then Quetzalcoatl replied: "I am called hence. The sun hath called me."

Then they said to him: "It is well. Go, leaving all the works of craftsmanship."

Then he left all the arts—the casting of gold, the cutting of precious stones, the carving of wood, sculpturing in stone, the knowledge of the scribes, the art of feather working. All [these] they wrested from him by force; they made him abandon all; they seized all from him.

And when this was done, Quetzalcoatl thereupon cast his jewels into [a spring of] water, and then they

Inic matlactli vmey capitulo: vncan mjtoa in machiotl in qujtlatlalitia, Quetzalcoatl in jmatica in jpan tetl, in vncan moteui, in vncā motlalli.

Auh injc, momamatlaquechi tepan vel ihilac, juhquinma çoq'pan oncacalac in imacpal, çā ic no ivi in itzintamal, injc catca tepan, no hiylac, ompopolac, vel neneztica, injc cocoxonquj, ic vncan tlatocaioti temacpalco.

auh njmā ic oalcoac in acico itocaiocan tepanoaian, atl icac, atl quizticac, vel patlaoac, patlactic, in teil contecac panoanj conchiuh, njmā ic ipan onpanoc, yoan njman ic tlatocaioti tepanoaia.

auh oc ceppa vmpeuh njman acito cecnj itocaiocan coahapan: auh in oncān j vncan quioalcuepazquja in tlatlacateculo, quioalilochtizquja, quijiacatzacuilizquja,

quilhuique can tiauh, can titztiuh, tleica ie ticcauhtiuh in altepetl, aqu itech ticcauhtiuh, ac tlamaceoaz.

Niman quimjlhui in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacateculo, ca çan njmā amo velitix ca ça niaz:

njmā quilhuiquc in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacateculo canja tiaz

njmā quimilhuj in Quetzalcoatl ca vmpa in tlapallan njiauh in njtlamattiuh,

auh njmā quihuiq tle taiz

njman quito in Quetzalcoatl, ca nioalnotzalo nechalnotza in tonatiuh,

njman quilhuique ca ie qualli xicauhtiuh in ixquich in tultecaiotl,

njman jc vncan quicauh, in ixquich in tultecaiotl, in teocuitlapitzcaiotl, in tlatecçaiotl, in quauhxincaiotl, in tetzotzoncaiotl, in tlacujlocaiotl, in amantecaiotl, moch quitepeoaltique, moch quitlacaltique, moch qujcujcuilique:

auh in ie iuhquj in Quetzalcoatl njmā ie ic conte-

1. Tzompahua, Tzompaxtepec cf. Orellana, op. cit., pp. 283, 284. Tezpumalli (op. cit., p. 58) states that Tzompahua was two leagues from Mexico City (Tehuacanhuac).

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were swallowed up. Therefore he named that place Coxcaapan which now is called Coaapan.[2]

And thereupon he moved on and came to reach another point, a place named Cochtocan. And there a demon then came forth to meet him.

He said to him: "Whither goest thou?"

Then [Quetzalcoatl] said: "It is there to Tlapallan that I go, to learn [my fate]."

Then the demon said to him: "It is well. Drink this, the wine which I have brought here."

Quetzalcoatl said: "Nay, it may not be that I drink, even though it might be but little that I taste."

Then once more the devil said to him: "Verily, it may not be that thou shalt not drink nor taste of it. For no one do I give leave, or permit, to depart whom I give no wine and [not] make drunk and besotted. So do [as I bid thee]; be of good cheer and drink it."

Quetzalcoatl then drank the wine with a drinking tube.

And when he had drunk, he quickly fell asleep in the road. He lay thundering as he slept, resounding a great distance as he snored.[3] And when he awoke, thereupon he looked to one side and the other. He looked at himself, and arranged his hair. Then he named the place Cochtocan.

peoa, in jcoxqui in atlan njman ie ic hatoco, ic vncan tlatocaioti, coxcaapan, in axcan mjtoa cooaapan:

auh njman ie ic ōmolinj onacito, cecnj itocaiocā cochtocan, auh in vncan njmam quioalnamjc, ce tlacateculotl

quilhui can tjiauh,

njmā qujto ca vmpa in tlapallan, in nitlamattiuh,

njman conilhuj in tlacateculotl, ca ie qualli, tla xoconj, y, yn vnctli in oniqualcujc

qujto in Quetzalcoatl ca njman amo velitiz in niquiz, in manell achito noconpaloz,

njman oc ceppa quilhui in tlacateculotl, camono velitiz, in macamo tiquiz, in maca titlapaloz ca aiac njcnocavia aiac njcquixtia in macamo njcmaca yn vctli, in ujctlaoantia, in niquivintia, auh injn tlaoque tlacuele, tla xoconi,

in Quetzalcoatl njman ic conjc, in vctli piaztica.

auh in oconjc cochvetz in o[illegible]ica, quaqualacatoc in cochi, veca caquizti, injc hicoa[illegible]ca, auh in ooaliçac, njman ie ic ẋvic tlachia, mohotta, moquapepetla, niman jc vncan tlatocaioti cochtocan.

2. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, pp. 49f.) repeats a legend that after having Coxcaapan, Quetzalcoatl went to Chalchi, where he remained twenty years.

3. See Pl. 34.

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**Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth how the vassals of Quetzalcoatl froze in the ice and died as they passed between Iztac tepetl and Popocatepetl; and of others of his exploits.**

Then once again he set forth and came to climb between Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl.[1] He led all the dwarfs and hunchbacks, his servants. It snowed upon them, and there they froze; they died of the cold.

And Quetzalcoatl thereupon was greatly moved and wept to himself. And he sang much to himself [as] he wept and sighed.

Thereupon he looked at a distance to another white mountain, named Poyauhtecatl.[2] Again he set forth, making the rounds of all places, everywhere passing through the villages. And so, they say, he set down many of his signs, by which he is known.

In another place it is said that he took his pleasure on a mountain. He came sliding down it, to its foot;[3] he came bouncing down it.

And elsewhere he planted in the ground *maguey* fibers.[4] At another place he built a ball court, all of stone. And in the middle of it, where the line was, the earth lay open, reaching deep; for it was thus pierced. And elsewhere he shot, as an arrow, a *bombax ceiba* tree, [shooting it] likewise into the midst of [another] *bombax ceiba* [so that one] rested piercing [the other]. And elsewhere he built a house all underground at a place named Mictlan.[5]

And elsewhere he set up a huge rock.[6] It is said that one might move it with his little finger; easily it swayed; from side to side it would teeter. And it is said that when many men pushed it, then it would not move, even though many would try hard. [If] they sought to move it, they could not budge it.

And there were many more things which he did in all the villages. And it is said that he named all

Injc matlactli vnnuj capitvlo: itechpa tlatoa in quenjn cioapaoque cetica micque in jmaceoaloan Quetzalcoatl, injc inepantla quiz in iztac tepetl, yoan in popocatepetl, yoan in oc cequi itlachioal.

Niman oc ceppa vmpeuh in otlecoto, popocatepetl itzalã, yoã iztatepetl, in ixquichtin quinvicaia, in tzapame, in tepotzome, yn jiachoan, muchintin inpan cepaiuh vncan cioapaoque, cecmjcque:

suh in Quetzalcoatl, njma ie ic mellaquaoa, mochoquilia, yoan mocujcatia cenca choca, helcicivi,

niman ie ic no conitta vecapa ĩ oc centetl iztac tepetl itoca poiauhtecatl, oc ceppa ic vmpeuh novian quiquiztia, novian quixaqualotinen yn altepetl, iuh q'toa mjec tlamantli in quitlalitia in inezca ynjc monezcaioti.

In cecnj quilmach maavilti tepetitech oalmoostlacalauh tlatzintlan oalvevetztia.

suh y cecnj quitlalitecana ichtli, y cecni quitecac tlachtli çan moch tetl, suh in tlanepantla yn oncã icac tlecotl coiontícac veca aciticac ynjc coionquj, yoan cecnj quimjn pochotl injc qujmjn çan no ie in pochotl hitic nalquizticac, auh cecni quiquetz calli çan tlallan, itocaiocan mjctlan,

suh oc no cecni quitlali centetl vejtepol tetl, quil yn aca colinia yca imapil zocoioton, vel molinia hauic onquiquiça: auh quil in iquac miequjz.tin colinja, çan njman avel olinj, in manel cenca quimjeccetia colinitznequj, avel colinia.

suh oc mjec tlamantli in qujchiuh in novian ipan

1. Iztac cihuatl.
2. Mt. Orizaba.
3. Cotejo con Sahagún: a variant version is suggested in Sahagún, (*op. cit.*, p. 291, n. 1)—"*¿nel no cuahuel ixcuã? quez, ¿ylnek gohuã?*"
4. Cf. *loc. cit.* (n. 7), which differs somewhat from the Florentine Codex text: "*auh yiuui quitlali tecomac ichtli ixi ouiã tolquechtecomacpa no tlacuaxec: auel tecolquechcauhqui hegin ce cioa* (Sahagún's Latin translation is not clear) *ce cioa. 1.*"
5. Possibly Mitla.
6. Corresponding passage in Sahagún (*op. cit.*) translates *cujcujpal tel* as ghallina suh. Cf. in Molina (*op. cit.*), *tapalli* (*mimbre de cuero*).



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the mountains. And in all places he gave all the names here.

And when he had done these things, then he went to reach the sea coast. Thereupon he fashioned a raft of serpents. When he had arranged [the raft], there he placed himself, as if it were his boat. Then he set off going across the sea. No one knows how he came to arrive there at Tlapallan.[1]

altepetl: yoan quilmach muchi quinnotocaiotl in tetepe. yoan noviiã novian tlatotocaiotitia yn njcan

auh in ie iuhquj yn oacito atẽco, njman ie ic quichioa coatlapechtli, yn oquiconcauhque vncan motlali, iuhquinma yiacal ipan pouh, njman ie ic iatiuh atocotiuh aocac ontlamati in quenjn acito in vmpa tlapallan.

*Here Endeth*
*the Third Book*

*Nican tlantica*
*inic Ey amoxtli*

1. There is great variation in legends and interpretations of the disappearance of Quetzalcoatl. In the *Anales de Quauhtitlan* (Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 90-92), he went to the east to die and burned himself; his heart survived, went to the heavens, and became the morning star. He and the star vanished for four days, while Quetzalcoatl was in the underworld; after eight days, the star reappeared. The version in Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 79) has Tezcatlipoca oust Quetzalcoatl from Chalchi to Tlapaca, or Tlillan, where Quetzalcoatl died; his body was burned, and he became a star or comet. Durán (*op. cit.*, pp. 75-6) relates that, on reaching the sea coast, Quetzalcoatl, at a single word, rent a mountain and entered it; cast a cape over the sea, made a sign with his hand, and sailed off; dried the sea with a blow of his staff and marched through with his people—the sea then engulfing the pursuers. In "La leyenda de los soles" (*Códice Chimalpopoca*), Quetzalcoatl (Ce acatl) is said to have undertaken a series of conquests (Ayotlan, Chalco, Cuitlan, Quauhtitlan, Tzapotlan, Azcapotzalco), and to have sickened, died, and been burned or hidden at Tlapallan. (The passage cited is incomplete because of a lacuna in the original text.)



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titlan for nineteen years. In his reign there came a famine; for two years[2] it spread over the land, during which it rained no more. Because of it the people of Mexico dispersed everywhere, and there was great suffering from hunger.

In the reign of this same [ruler] it happened that there in the song house which was in Tenochtitlan, a beam, which pierced the walls which held it, sang.[3] It intoned, "Woe, my evil rump! Dance well, for thou shalt be cast into the water!" This came to pass when [the fame of] the Spaniards came to be known.

In the days of this same [ruler] it happened that [the demon] Cihuacoatl went about weeping, at night. Everyone heard it wailing and saying: "My beloved sons, now I am about to leave you."

In the reign of the same [ruler] this came to pass. A woman of quality, whose home was in Tenochtitlan, died of a sickness. She was buried then in her courtyard, and they laid stones over [her grave]. Four days after the dead woman had been buried, she came to life at night. Greatly were all frightened. There, where she had been buried in her grave, it was burst open, and the stones which had been laid over it went to scatter at a distance. And this woman, after she had returned to life, then went to converse and speak with Moctezuma about what she had seen. She informed and said to him: "For this reason have I returned to life: I have come to tell thee that thou art come to the end. With thee the reign of Mexico ceaseth; for in thy time the city of Mexico will end. They who come, lo, these have come to subjugate the land; these will occupy Mexico." And this woman who had died lived another twenty-one years, and once more bore a son.

And many [were] the cities which Moctezuma conquered. Their names [were] Icpatepec, Cuezcomaixtlauacan, Çocollan, Tecomaixtlauacan, Çacatepec, Tlachquiauhco, Iollotzonecuillan, Atepec, Mictlan, Tlauapan,[4] Nopalan, Itztec tlalocan, Cuextlan, Quetzaltepec, and Chichioaltatacalan.

In the days of this same [ruler] it befell that, eight years before the Spaniards came to arrive, it was seen, and taken as an omen, that by night a very great brilliance arose, like a flame. All night it stood shining. It appeared at the place where the sun came

cxxtnhxiuitl ipan nauhxiuitl, ipan muchiuh maia- 175
nalixtli oxiujtl in manca in aocmo qujauja, ic noujian [731]
tepan cenman in mexicatl cenca netolinjloc in
mainanalixtica.

Çā no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, in oncan cujcacali
catca in tenochtitlan, cuicac ce nepantla tecoc in tlael- [787]
napaloa, qucuh veiah noquextepole uel xomjtotia,
atlā tiuetztoçe. In muchiuh, y, ie iuh oalmachixti in
Españoles.

Çā no iehoatl ipan mochiuh cioacoatl chocatinenca
ioaltica, mochi tlacatl quicaquja in cho..ia quitoaia.
Nonopilhoantzitzi ic çan ie namechnocaujlia.

Çan no iehoatl ipan mochiuh. Çe tlacatl çihoatl 175
ichan tenochtitlan mjc ica cocolixtli, njman motocac 787
yitoalco ipan quitemaoque, ie iuh nauilhuitl motocac
in cihoatl micquj mozcali ioaltica, cenca tlamauhti in
vncan motocaca tlatlataçco motlapo, auh in tetl ic
motemanca vēca veuetzito: auh in iehoatl cihoatl in
oiuh mozcali, njman quinonotzato, quilhujto in
motecuçuma in tlein quittac quipouili, quilhuj. Ca
inic onjnozcali njmjtzilhujco. Ca ie inquich ca
tehoatl moca tzonquiça in tlatocaiotl in mexico ca
tehoatl mopan mantiaz in altepetl mexico. Aquique
in ie uitze ca iehoantin tlalmaceoaqujuj, iehoantin
onoque in mexico: auh in iehoatl mjcca çihoatl ie
no cempoalxiujtl oçe inen ioan oc ce quichiuh icon-
euh oquichtli:

Ioan miiec in altepetl quipeuh motecuçuma in 175
jtoca, icpatepec, cuezcomaixtlauacan, çocollan, teco- 648
maixtlaoacā, çacatepec, tlachquiauhco, iollotzonecuil- [103]
lan, atepec, mjctlan, tlaapan, nopalan itzec tlalocan,
cuextlan, quetzaltepec, chichioaltatacalan.

Çan no iehoatl ipan muchiuh, oc iuh chicuexiujtl 175
aciqujui españoles mottaia netetzahujloa, in ioaltica 787
oalmoquetzaia cenca tomacac in tlanextli iuhquin
tlemjiaoal iceoal tlanextiticaca tonatiuh iquiçiampa
oalmoquetzaia vmpoliuja in ie oalquiça tonatiuh,

2. The corresponding Spanish text mentions three years of famine.
3. Cuicac ce nepantla tecoc. The Real Academia de la Historia MS has cui panatl. Nepantla is clearly an error.
4. Tlauapan. Cf. corresponding Spanish text.

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Chart of map facing page 144

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| A | B | C | D |
| E | F | G | H |

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"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Apancalecā (?), 2 | [Missing] |
| Coyucac, 8 | Coyoquilla |
| Nochcoc, 10 | Nuxco |
| Panotlan, 9 | [Missing] |
| Petlatlan, 6 | Petatlán |
| Xihuacan, 5 | [Missing] |
| Xolochiuhyan, 7 | Jolochuca |
| Yztapan, 3 | [Missing] |
| Çacatulan, 1 | [Missing] |
| Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*] | [See Remarks on Towns] |

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlalhomaua (11).

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Acapulco*, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight importance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

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*Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[1] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[2] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[3] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

*Apancalecan* may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[4] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

*Citlaltomaua* was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[5] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[1] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[2] *PNE*, 6: 163.
[3] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[4] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[5] *PNE*, 6: 159–159.

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*Tribute of the component towns.*—In view of the poor documentation on this whole province, all that can be gleaned concerning the tribute of the component towns is that Anecuilco and Citlaltomaua gave slaves, who were, of course, captives taken in border skirmishes (as noted in the tribute list for Zompanco in the province of Tepequacuilco), mantles, and gold dust.[*]

## 2. Tepequacuilco

### Sources of the Map

On the fifteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied as folio 37' of the *Codex Mendocino*, are listed the tributary towns of a province situated in what is now north-central Guerrero. They are headed by Tepequacuilco, which is the only town identified in roman letters in the original document, although the *Mendocino* copy identifies all. There are fourteen towns listed in the copy; the original, however, lacks the glyphs for Teloloapan and Chilacachapan, which have been mysteriously erased. The American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," has served for the reconstruction of this province. Original and present place names appear below:

| Mendocino | Millionth Map |
|---|---|
| Alahuiztlã, 21 | Alahuistlán |
| Atenanco, 8 | Atengo del Río |
| Cocolan, 13 | Cocula |
| Cueçalan, 7 | Cuetzala |
| Chilacachapã, 12 | Chilicachapa |
| Chilapan, 4 | Chilapa |
| Huitzoco, 16 | Huitzuco |
| Ohuapã, 6 | Oapan |
| Oztoma, 19 | [Missing] |
| Teloloapan, 11 | [No change] |
| Tepequacuilco, 15 | Tepecoacuilco |
| Tlachmalacac, 18 | Tlaxmalac |
| Ychcateopã, 20 | Ixcateopan |
| Yoallan, 17 | Iguala |

All these towns have been located. To them we may add a series of border towns of lesser tributary importance, and therefore omitted

[*] "Al rrey que era de Mexico ... le dauan esclavos e mantas e oro en polvo que sacauan y lavrauan de los rrios a ellos cercanos." It is said, absurdly enough, that "los esclavos que ellos dauan al dicho Montecuma eran para que los dichos Mexicanos comiesen" (*PNE*, 6: 158).

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635 from the *Mendocino*. These lay along the insecure west, where memories of internecine strife mingled with that of the prevailing war against Michoacan. The relaciones made to Philip II in the 1580's [103] authorize the addition of these six towns: Otlatlan (1),[77] now Otatlán; Tenepantla (9), now Tlanipatlán;[78] Tetela (5),[79] now Tetela del Río; Tlacotepec (2);[80] Totoltepec (10);[81] and Zompanco (3), now Zumpango del Río.[82]

[175] Tonalli imoquetzayan (22)—a conquest of Tizoc—seems to be the modern Tonaliquizaya, and Brand's map adds Tlatlaya (23) as a Mexican frontier post.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632a *Atenanco* is one of the vacillating name forms like the equally common "Tetela." It is described, not very helpfully, in the sixteenth century, as being "junto a Taxco."[83] Though the "Millionth Map" gives it as "Atengo del Río," the Agricultura y Fomento atlas gives "Atenango del Río" in the same location. Moreover, a sixteenth-century relación[84] gives Atenango as northeast of Huitzoco.

*Oztoma* no longer exists, but colonial "Oztuma," which stood near the original town, left a relación which helps to locate it,[85] and a modern investigator informs us that the site is "located twenty-three miles west of Teloloapan, Guerrero, in the municipality of Acapetlahuaya,"[86] names which appear on the "Millionth Map."

*Totoltepec* is a ubiquitous and trouble-making name. There were famous homonyms, especially, in Hidalgo and southern Oaxaca, which are constantly confused. Del Paso y Troncoso sought to avoid ambiguity among the many Totoltepecs, ancient and modern, by calling

[77] "Eran de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 128).
[78] *PNE*, 6: 144: "los sujetaron los mexicanos."
[79] *PNE*, 6: 133: "Le serbian [al rey de México] en la gerra que tenyan con los de Mechoacan y con los de Ajuchitlan."
[80] *PNE*, 6: 123: "Un rrei de México les bino a conquistar y allanar, con los quales tuvieron su gerra asta que los conquistaron, y Moteçuma envió un capitan ... para que los gobernase."
[81] *PNE*, 6: 149: "[En] tienpo del rrey de Mexico llamado Ajayacatzin tuvo gerra con ellos hasta que les sujeto."
[82] *PNE*, 6: 317: "Estavan subjetos a Moteçuma."
[83] *PNE*, 1: No. 90.
[84] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 224.
[85] *PNE*, 6: 113: "En otro tiempo estubo poblado en un peñol ques enespunable y muy fuerte."
[86] Lister, "Cerro Oztuma, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 210. See also Hendrichs' "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *ibid.* (1940), 5: 142–147.

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the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec."

*Yoallan* is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[99] "Escuridad" (*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they speak Mexican and are rich.[100] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[101] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[102] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[103] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla remembered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[104]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 1580's are Yoallan,[105] Cocolan,[106] Mayanala (14),[107] and Huitzoco.[108] Since

[99] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.
[100] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[101] "Estos couixcas y tlapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman couixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, en la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).
[102] *GPM*, p. 105.
[103] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran sujetos á la cuidad y se habían dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).
[104] *PNE*, 5: 249.
[105] *PNE*, 5: 86.
[106] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.
[107] *GPM*, p. 98.
[108] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

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651 632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[66]

[567 727] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[67] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[68]

### 3. Tlachco

#### SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Çiudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

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| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Acamilyxtlahuacā, 6 | Acamixtla |
| Chontalcoatlan, 9 | [No change] |
| Nochtepec, 7 | Noxtepec |
| Teotliztacan, 2 | Huiztac |
| Tetenanco (? 5) | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Teticpac, 8 | Tetipac |
| Tlachco, 3 | Taxco Viejo |
| Tlamacazapā, 4 | Tlamacazapa |
| Tzicapuçalco, 1 | Ixcapuzalco |

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpā (10).

[66] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[67] "Estavan sobjetos a Monteccuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que estos le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[68] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona presçipal la que prendian la embiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[34]

## 4. Ocuilan

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

| MENDOCINO | 1927 MAP |
|---|---|
| Coatepec, 3 | Coatepec Harinas |
| Ocuilan, 7 | [No change] |
| Tenantzinco, 6 | Tenancingo |
| Tequaloyan, 5 | Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero) |
| Tonatiuhco, 4 | Tonatico |

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[35]

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Çincozcac* is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *xollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[36]

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—Sahagún[37] tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

[34] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas ... . Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cosian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Monteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[35] "Relación de Zoltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributauan." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[36] *PNE*, 7: 102: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron asi."

[37] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

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## 5. Tuluca

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 11 of the *Matricula* and folio 33' of the *Codex Mendocino* contain the province of Tuluca, which is now part of the State of Mexico north and east of the Nevado de Toluca (Zinantecatl). In the *Matricula* these towns are identified in roman letters, one of the names disagreeing with the version given in the *Mendocino* annotations, which are also present for every town glyph. This divergence is noted below. The present map is based on the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Below are the *Mendocino* names and modern names, in so far as the latter appear on the 1927 map:

| MENDOCINO | 1927 MAP |
|---|---|
| Cacalomaca, 6 | Cacalomacán |
| Calimayan, 8 | [No change] |
| Calixtlahuacā, 2 | Calixtlahuaca |
| Metepec, 5 | [No change] |
| Mitepec, 7 | Tlacotepec |
| Teotenanco, 10 | Tenango (del Valle) |
| Tepemaxalco, 9 | [Missing] |
| Tuluca, 3 | Toluca |
| Xicaltepec, 1 | [Missing] |
| Çoquitzinco, 11 | Xoquicingo |

Two towns remain to be identified: Capulteopan and Tepetlhuiacan. Tzinacantepec (4) has been added to these. It was conquered with the rest of the province, according to the conquest lists of Axayacatl. Another source adds that most of the inhabitants of Tzinacantepec fled to Michoacan, to a place called Tlaulan, the remaining folk making a special milpa in the service of their new master.[99]

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rrachan y ocote, que es tea para alumbrarse, y tinta hecha del zuma del ocote que se llama en su lengua ocotlili."

[99] "Los de Zinacantepec ... se fueron á Mechuacán, adonde ahora llaman Tlaulan, y así quedaron en la obediencia del Señor de México, y tomó para sí todas las tierras, y las arrendaba, y repartió algunas, y por ellas le pagaban tributo. Demás de ésto todos los matalcincos que quedaron hacían una sementera para el Señor de México, que tenía ochocientas brazas en largo y cuatrocientas en ancho" (Zurita, "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva Colección* ... [1858–1866], III: 221). The exiles in Tlaulan felt the yoke of their persecutors again, for the year following the accession of Tizoc, the Mexicans "hicieron la fiesta en el templo de Huitzilopochtli con la sangre de los Matalcingos y los de Tlaula" ("Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *ibid.*, p. 253).

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103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Mitepec* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

*Teotenanco* retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

*Tepemaxalco* appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

*Valle de Bravo* has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

*Villa Victoria* is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various [782 103] etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] . . . because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7. [101] See p. 23 above. [102] *PNE*, 7: 4. [103] *Op. cit.*, III: 127. [104] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.

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two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[106] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

| MENDOCINO | ATLAS |
|---|---|
| Malinalco, 1 | [No change] |
| Çonpahuacā, 2 | Zumpahuacan |

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[107]

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Çonpahuacan* is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation. The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—Malinalco was a great religious center. It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

[106] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40r of the *Mendocino*.

[107] *PNE*, 1: No. 346.

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| MENDOCINO | 1937 MAP |
|---|---|
| Acaxochic, 6 | Santa Fe |
| Ameyalco, 8 | [No change] |
| Coatepec, 14 | Coatepec Bateas |
| Chichicquautla, 4 | Xochiquauhtla |
| Huizquilocan, 5 | Huixquilucan |
| Quahuacan, 1 | Cahuacan |
| Quauhpanoayã, 9 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Tecpan | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Tlalatlauhco, 13 | Xalatlaco |

Two other towns have been found elsewhere: Huitziçilapa (3) and Tlalachco (?) (2).

Two towns of the tribute list have not been found: Chapolmoloyã and Ocotepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acaxochic,* "que ahora es Santa Fé," is located on the authority of Tezozomoc.[4] It lies southwest of Tacubaya.

*Chichicquautla* has become the modern Xochiquautla, between Huixquilucan and Toluca. The boundaries of "Chichiguautla" given in a sixteenth-century document confirm this identification.[5]

*Huitzilçilapa,* under the transitional form of "Vçiçilapa," is referred to in the sixteenth century as being adjacent to Tacuba and as having a barrio called Tamimilulpa[6]—which description applies perfectly to the Huitzilapan of the 1937 map.

*Quauhpanoayan* has vanished from the map. It was divided between two hills, one section being called San Joan Baptista and the other San Francisco. It was a league from Atlapulco (11), a league and a half from Capulhuac (12), "y de los otros dos á media legua." As one of "los otras dos" is known to have been Ocoyacac (10), Quauhpanoayan may be placed with fair accuracy.[7]

*Tecpan* has long since disappeared from the map. In the late sixteenth century, according to the 1579 map of Ortelius, it lay south of Teocalhuiacan and northeast of Mimimiyauuapan [*sic*]. Ortelius gives

[4] *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 530.
[5] *PNE,* 1: No. 113, places it seven leagues from México and touching the jurisdictions of Tacuba, Toluca, and "Vçiçilapa."
[6] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.
[7] *GPM,* p. 232.

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635 114 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo. The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present one, as follows:

[103]

| MENDOCINO | ORTELIUS, 1579 |
|---|---|
| Atotonilco, 4 | [No change] |
| Otlazpā, 1 | Hatlaspa |

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacā, Tehuehuec, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Apaxco* is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan. *Atotonilco,* still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.[a]

*Otlazpan* is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28r of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpan appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.[b]

[a] *PNE,* 1: No. 1.

[b] The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vss. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Osuna* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-35), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpā, yhua tepesic cē comēdero" ("Otlazpan and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpan in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1201) of the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpan and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The Códice Franciscano, written in 1570, cites (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe él ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llama Otlazpan."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

| MENDOCINO | 1937 MAP |
|---|---|
| Cuezcomahuacã, 6 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Quauhtitlan, 2 | Cuauhtitlán |
| Tehuiloyocã, 4 | Teoloyucan |
| Tepoxaco, 1 | [No change] |
| Xiloçinco, 7 | Xilotzingo |

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocã and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Cuezcomahuacan* is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[80]

*Huehuetoca* figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

*Tehuiloyocan* has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[81]

*Tepotzotlan* is another of the former Tepanec towns.

*Xalapan* (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[82]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca*, in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan.

[80] *GPM*, p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."
[81] *GPM*, p. 263.
[82] *PNE*, 3: 33, n. 1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



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TRIBUTE

***Tribute of the whole province.***—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285] 4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

## 11. Xilotepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

● 103

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Acaxochitla, 7 | [Missing] |
| Michmaloyan, 5 | Michimaloyan |
| Tecoçauhtla, 11 | Tecozautla |
| Tepetitlan, 6 | Tepetitlán |
| Tzayanalquilpan, 3 | Soyaniquilpan |
| Xilotepec, 2 | Jilotepec |

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



*Tribute of the component towns.*—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[42]

## 12. Axocopan

### Sources of the Map

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex*, folio 27r.[43] Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below:

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Atenco, 5 | [Missing] |
| Axocopan, 1 | [Missing] |
| Mizquiyahuala, 7 | Mixquiahuala |
| Tecpatepec, 8 | [No change] |
| Temohuayā, 2 | [Missing] |
| Tetepanco, 3 | Tetepango |
| Tezcatepec, 9 | [Missing] |
| Tlaahuililpā, 4 | Tlahuelilpa |
| Xochichiuca | [Missing] |
| Yzmiquilpā, 10 | Ixmiquilpan |

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

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[42] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[43] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia montesuma q̄ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[82]

Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[83]

## 13. Hueypuchtla

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29r of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Acayocā, 7 | Acayoca |
| Atocpan, 10 | Actopan |
| Hueypuchtla, 3 | Hueypoxtla |
| Tequixquiac, 1 | [No change] |
| Tetlapanaloyā, 2 | Tlapanaloya |
| Tezcatepectonco, 6 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Xicalhuacan (?4) | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Xomeyocan (?5) | [See Remarks on Towns] |

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[82] *PNE*, 6:36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[83] *PNE*, 6:32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



177
651

OTHER GOODS

. . . cotton
60 deerskins[9]

## 15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54r). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" [28] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Cozcatecutlan, 1 | Coxcatlan |
| Ctzicoac (?), 5 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Molanco, 7 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Xocoyocan (?), 6 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Ychcatlan, 3 | Ixcatlan |

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is [648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan."[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-
131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.
[10] "Relación de ... Metztitlan," p. 173, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxteq was
648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
197 recent times, at least) in the south.[27] The Huaxtec people, generally
105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[28] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[29]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
131 pendent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more
103 properly known as "Cuextlan."[30] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[31] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[32]

### TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula,* Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

#### CLOTHING

291 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

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[27] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[28] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[30] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[32] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



## 16. Tuchpa

### Sources of the Map

635 114 The *Matricula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[26] It is copied on folio 52' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

| Mendocino | Millionth Map |
|---|---|
| Miahuaapā, 4 | Miahuapam |
| Mictlan, 3 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Papantla, 6 | [No change] |
| Tuchpa, 2 | Tuxpan |
| Çihuateopa, 5 | [See Remarks on Towns] |

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

### Remarks on Towns

632 131 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (a), according to Lehmann.[27] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[28]

*Oçelotepec* might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

*Papantla* claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[29]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

[26] See Introduction, p. 7.

[27] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (a), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing; see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[28] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[29] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por monteçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que monteçuma naçiese ni heredase este rreyno no estimaan estos yndios subjetos al padre de monteçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron dende á muchos años que ya estavan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron briamente á monteçuma."

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reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of Tlatlauhquitepec.[88]

*Tenextepec* appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

*Tuchpa* is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

*Çihuatzopa* has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonacas* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[89] As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[90]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

*Regional names.*—The regional names given under the section "Ctzicoac"[1] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

### TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, especially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matrícula*:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[91]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[91]
400 bundles of loincloths[91]
808 bundles[92] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[91]

[88] RSH, 1: 437.
[89] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín ...* (1943).
[90] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.
[91] Corrected from 800.

[1] [p. 58.—Analyst] [2] [p. 56.—Analyst]

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635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototeper de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles[a] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

## 18. TLAPACOYAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

| MENDOCINO | 1908 MAP |
|---|---|
| Acaçacatla, 7 | Zacatlan |
| Tlapacoyan, 4 | [No change] |
| Xiloxochitlan, 6 | Floxochitlan |
| Xochiquauhtitlan, 5 | Xochicuatla |

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan. To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

[a] Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291 714] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.*

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.*

## 19. Atotonilco el Grande

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Acaxochitla, 3 | Acaxochitlán |
| Atotonilco, 1 | Atotonilco el Grande |
| Hueyapan, 5 | [No change] |
| Quachqueçaloyã, 2 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Tulançinco, 4 | Tulancingo |
| Çtzihuinquiloca | [See Remarks on Towns] |

* RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."
* RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á mocteçuma mantas de algodon."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.*

## 20. Acolhuacan

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114

The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula*, which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino*, which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco,
[128] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

| MENDOCINO | 1937 MAP |
|---|---|
| Acolhuacã, 23 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Aztaquemeca | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Cenpoalan, 5 | Zempoala |
| Ecatepec, 15 | [No change] |
| Epaçoyucã, 2 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Huiçilan, 9 | Huitzilac |
| Matixco, 14 | Maquixco |
| Tecalco, 11 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Temazcalapã, 10 | Temaxcalapan |
| Tepechpa, 16 | Tepexpan |

* *PNE*, 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seysçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

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103

| MENDOCINO | 1937 MAP |
|---|---|
| Tepetlaoztoc, 18 | Tepetlaoxtoc |
| Teçoyucā, 17 | Tezoyuca |
| Tiçayucā, 8 | Tizayuca |
| Tlaquilpā, 3 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Tonanytla, 12 | Tonanitla |

Various pueblos of this crowded province remain to be located:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ahuatepec | Quauhyocan |
| Ameyalco | Tepetlapā |
| Calyahualco | Tiçatepec |
| Contlan | Tlachyahualco |
| Quauhq̄mecā | Totolçinco |
| Yxquemecā | |

Certain other pueblos may be added to the province on the basis of other documents:

| | |
|---|---|
| Acolman (a) | Pachuca, 1 |
| Coatepec Chalco, 22 | Teotihuacan, 13 |
| Chicualoapan, 21 | Tepepulco, 7 |
| Chimalhuacantoyac, 20 | Tetlyztaca, 6 |
| Otompan, 24 | Tezontepec, 4 |

REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Acolman* (a) was independent until conquered by Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco.[a] 632

*Acolhuacan* is something of a problem. The present paper is hardly the place to pass upon the truth of reports that Texcoco, capital of the Acolhuaque, paid tribute to the Mexica as did any other vassal. But a choice is imperative here: does the glyph which is annotated Acol*man* and Acol*huacan* represent Acolhuacan Texcoco?

The answer is a certain no. It is doubtful that Texcoco ever paid the famous tribute, in the first place. The other member of the Triple Alliance, Tlacopan, does not figure as a tributary anywhere in the *Matricula*, and it was less powerful than the domain of Nezahualpilli. The *Mendocino* interpreter has not written Texcoco, nor does the glyph correspond to those commonly used for Texcoco.[a] And the contradictory *Matricula* legend has been written over, as if to avoid

632

114

[a] "Nezahualcoyotzin cuiqui de Texcoco, los tirannio" (*FNE*, 6: 211).

(1942), fig. 1.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

# V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

631 648 175

THERE IS a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion. [128]

## 21. CHALCO

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114

On the nineteenth page of the *Matricula* and folio 41[r] of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been identified, as follows: [128]

| MENDOCINO | 1927 MAP |
|---|---|
| Chalco, 1 | Tlalmanalco |
| Quauhxumulco, 2 | Cuajomulco |
| Tepuztlan, 3 | Tepoztlan |

[103]

[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.
[3] Quoted in n. 56 below.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

*Malinaltepec* is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

*Tecmilco* is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

*Tepuztlan* also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

*Xocoyoltepec* appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

[4] *Annales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

[6] Durán, *Historia de las indios de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacíficamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Chalco gave the richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

## 22. QUAUHNAHUAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23r, with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23v. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located:

| MENDOCINO | 1910 MAP | MENDOCINO | 1910 MAP |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acatlycpac, 4 | Acatlipa | Quauhnahuac, 2 | Cuernavaca |
| Amacoztitla, 14 | Amacuzac | Teocalçinco, 17 | Teocalzingo (Gro.) |
| Atlicholoayan, 9 | Atlacholoaya | Xiuhtepec, 3 | Xiutepec |
| Coatlan, 7 | Coatlán del Río | Xochitepec, 6 | [No change] |
| Chimalco, 16 | Panchimalco | Xoxoutla, 15 | Jojutla de Juárez |
| Huiçilapã, 1 | Huitzilac | Yztla, 11 | Puente de Ixtla |
| Miacatla, 5 | [No change] | | |

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dize Coadlabaca [!] e comunmente corrompemos agora aquel bocablo y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula*, were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

*Amacoztitla* is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

*Chimalco*, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

*Molotla* is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

*Quauhnahuac*. That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, andají, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde allí nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

[323
28]

OTHER GOODS

2,000 pottery bowls**
8,000 reams of native paper**

651
632

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

## 23. Huaxtepec

### Sources of the Map

635
114

The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24' and 25' of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling.

[128]

This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present place names are compared below:

103

| Mendocino | 1910 map |
|---|---|
| Ahuehuepan | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Amilçinco, 19 | Amilcingo |
| Anenecuilco, 16 | [No change] |
| Atlatlauca, 5 | Atlatlahucan |
| Ayomochapã, 24 | Axochiapan |
| Coacalco, 4 | Oacalco |
| Huaxtepec, 7 | Oaxtepec |

* *FNE*, 1: No. 163.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



103

| MENDOCINO | 1910 MAP |
|---|---|
| Huiçilan, 22 | Huitchila |
| Nepopoalco, 1 | Nepozualco |
| Olintepec, 18 | [No change] |
| Quahuitlyxco, 14 | Cuautlixco |
| Quauhtlan, 15 | Cuautla Morelos |
| Tecpaçinco, 23 | Tepaltzingo |
| Tlaltiçapã, 21 | Tlaltizapan |
| Tlayacac, 17 | Tlayecac |
| Tlayacapã, 3 | Tlayacapan |
| Totolapã, 2 | Totolapan |
| Xaloztoc, 20 | Xaloxtoc |
| Xochimilcaçinco, 13 | Xochimecatzingo |
| Yacapichtla, 12 | Yecapixtla |
| Yauhtepec, 11 | Yautepec |
| Yzamatitla, 6 | Itzamatitlan |

Four towns remain to be located: Atlhuelic, Tehuizco, Tepoztlã, and Çonpanco.

To the foregoing list the names of certain other towns have been added, as follows: Hueyapan (10), Ocopetlayuca (9), and Tetela [del Volcán] (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Ahuehuepan:* "Entre las Haciendas del Calderón y el Hospital se ven los restos de San Pedro Ahuehuepan y de Xochimilcacingo a la orilla, respectivamente, de dos barrancas tributarias de los afluentes del Río de Cuautla," according to Miguel Salinas, cited in Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razon de Zapata. Anenecuilco* (1943), p. 59. The latter adds that Ahuehuepan existed half a league from Cuauhtla, and that its lands were taken away and the town was swallowed up by the Hacienda del Hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

632 175

*Huaxtepec* is cited by Cortés in his *Cartas y relaciones* (p. 213) as "Guastepeque, ... donde estaba la Gente de Culúa en Guarnición."[10]

632 131

*Hueyapan* was subject to the Mexicans, and formerly to the Xochimilca.[11] Since it was linked to Cuauhtla Amilpas during the colonial period, it has been placed in the same province as that town.

*Tehuizco* is listed in a sixteenth-century source as being a league from Totolapa,[12] but cannot be found today.

[10] *PNE*, 6: 285: "eran antiguamente subjetas y tributarias a la corona Real de Mexico, pero la principall subjeçion que deste pueblo de Tetella y Veyapan tenian era a Suchimilca."

[11] *PNE*, 6: 7, where Nepopualco [Nepomualco] is located as half a league from Totolapan.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.[30]
[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.[31]

## 24. TLALCOÇAUHTITLAN

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40r. The province lay in central-
[128] eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Ahuaçiçinco, 4 | Ahuacuotzingo |
| Mitzinco, 3 | Mitlalcingo |
| Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2 | Tlalcozotitlán |
| Tolimani, 1 | Tulimán |

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomaccinco*, according to one lone reference, was four leagues
131 from Olinalá.[32]

*Tepuztitlan* may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.[33]

*Ychcatlan* was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras"[34] and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.[35]

[30] "El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

[31] The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

[32] *PNE*, 5: 210.

[33] *PNE*, 5: 250.

[34] *GPM*, p. 112.

[35] *GPM*, p. 104.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

323 313 314

16 pieces of colored lacquer
268 fine *jicaras* and *tecomates*
20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[28]

## 25. Quiauhteopan

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40', as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

128

105

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Olinalan, 1 | Olinalá |
| Qualac, 2 | Cualac |
| Quiauhteopan (? 3) | [See Remarks on Towns] |

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[29] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[30]

131 *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[31] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[28] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.
[29] *PNE*, 5: 251.
[30] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108'. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.
[31] *PNE*, 5: 210.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

# VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlauhquitepec and Quauhtochco, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matricula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

## 26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlauhquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, extending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matricula* leaf on the recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.[1] This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51r. Of the eleven principal towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow:

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Atenco, 8 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Ayutuchco, 5 | Ayotoxco |
| Teotlalpan, 1 | Hueytlalpan |
| Teçiutlan, 9 | Teziutlán |
| Tlatlauhquitepec, 7 | [No change] |
| Xonoctla, 3 | Jonotla |
| Yaunahuac, 6 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Yayauquitlalpa, 4 | Yancuitlalpan |
| Ytztepec, 2 | [See Remarks on Towns] |

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yxcoyamec.

[1] See Introduction, p. 7.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



● 103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

[63] *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[1]

[71] *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[2] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

*Teotlalpan* may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[3]

*Tlaculula* (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Montecçuma."[4] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[5]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

*Xilotepec* is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

*Yaunahuac* appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

*Yayauquitlalpa* was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[6]

*Ytztepec* appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

*Yxcoyamec* is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[7]

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhebitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[8] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

[1] *PNE*, 5: 113.
[2] *GPM*, p. 9; *ENE*, 14: 79.
[3] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–213.
[4] *PNE*, 5: 108.
[5] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rrecopoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quaquauxintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."
[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.
[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.
[8] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



*Provincial borders in 1519.*—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

*Regional names.*—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes and shields*

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar**[31]

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1/2] and liquidambar.[32]

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

## 27. QUAUHTOCHCO

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48' of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows:

| MENDOCINO | 1908 MAP | MENDOCINO | 1908 MAP |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ahuilizapan, 5 | Orizaba | Tuchçonco, 3 | Tozongo |
| Quauhtochco, 2 | Huatusco | Ytzteyocan, 4 | S. Nicolas |
| Totodlan, 1 | Totutla | | |

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlã.

[30] Corrected from 1,600.
[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.
[32] Cf. n. 6 above.
[33] RHE, 1: 462: "eran basallos de montençuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."
[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

1/2 [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



| | |
|---|---|
| FOOD | |
| 20 loads of cacao* | |
| OTHER GOODS | |
| 1,600 bales of cotton* | |

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.[a]

## 28. Cuetlaxtlan

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It was the southernmost of the provinces which kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below:

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Cuetlaxtlan, 2 | Cotaxtla |
| Mictlanquauhtla, 3 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Teoçiocan (?), 1 | [See Remarks on Towns] |

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Cuetlaxtlan* was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.[b]

*Mictlanquauhtla* lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.[c]

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[a] According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coxcomatepec de Bravo: 1* (1943), p. 31.

[b] RHE, 1:158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de norueste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

[c] Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10:61: "don myn earriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su mag$^{d}$ hago m$^{d}$ a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p$^{o}$ de myctlanquauatla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en va cerro."

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## 29. Tochtepec

### Sources of the Map

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in north-eastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matricule*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46'. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

| Mendocino | Millionth Map |
|---|---|
| Coçamaloapā, 12 | Cosamaloapan |
| Chinantlan, 10 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Mixtlan, 13 | |
| Otlatitlan, 4 | Otlatlán |
| Oxitlan, 2 | Ojitlán |
| Puctlan (? 5) | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Teotlilan, 1 | Teutila |
| Tlacotlalpā, 6 | Tlacotalpan |
| Tochtepec, 3 | Tuxtepec |
| Tototepec, 9 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Toztlan, 7 | |
| Yxmatlatlan, 11 | [See Remarks on Towns] |

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ayotzintepec | Teteutlan |
| Ayoçintepec | Tzinacanoztoc |
| Cuezcomatitlā | Xayaco |
| Michapan, 14 (?) | Xicaltepec |
| Michtlan | Yaotlan |

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

### Remarks on Towns

*Chinantlan* has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

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the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites."

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified."

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique."

## 30. Xoconochco

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula*, and the copy appears on folio 47' of the *Codex Mendocino*. Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below:

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP | MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|---|---|
| Acapetlatlan, 2 | Acapetagua | Mapachtepec, 1 | Mapastepec |
| Ayotlan, 7 | Ayutla | Maçatlan, 5 | Mazatán |
| Huehuetlan, 4 | Huehuetán | Xoconochco, 6 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Huiztlan, 3 | Huixtla | | |

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

---

" "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis'" (*PNE*, 5: 2).

" *PNE*, 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

" *PNE*, 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepoque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

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# VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 147 IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

## 31. TEPEACAC

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42[r] of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the [28] 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

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| MENDOCINO | 1908 MAP |
|---|---|
| Acatzinco, 15 | [No change] |
| Coatzinco, 9 | Coatzingo |
| Chietlan, 5 | Chietla |
| Epatlan, 7 | [No change] |
| Huehuetlā, 4 | Huehuetlan |
| Nacochtlan, 8 | Necoxtla |
| Quatlatlauhcā, 10 | Huatlatlauca |
| Quauhquechulan, 1 | Huaquechula |
| Quauhtinchan, 12 | Cuautinchan |
| Quechulac, 17 | Quecholac |
| Tecalco, 13 | Tecali |
| Tecamachalco | [No change] |
| Teonochtitlā, 2 | |

[1] E.g., east to Cozamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 5 (1942), pp. 124–125.

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| MENDOCINO | 1908 MAP |
|---|---|
| Teopantlan, 3 | [No change] |
| Tepeacac, 14 | Tepeaca |
| Tepemaxalco, 18 | |
| Tepexic, 11 | Tepexi |
| Tetenanco, 16 | |
| Ytzucan, 6 | Matamoros Izúcar |

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacā, Chiltecpintlā, Oztotlapechco, and Yeçochinanco.

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[2] and Quauhtinchan.[3] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Cozyxtlahuacan.[4] 197

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlaxcala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[5] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace. 635 131 [648]

*Regional names.*—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[6] 635 175

[2] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua touca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; assi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[3] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (1937).

[4] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[6] *PNE*, 3: No. 248.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



## 32. Yoaltepec

### Sources of the Map

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40r of the *Codex Mendocino*. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified.

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names:

| Mendocino | Millionth Map |
|---|---|
| Ehuacalco, 4 | Calihualá |
| Patlanalā (?), 5 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Tzilasapan, 6 | Silacayoápam |
| Yoaltepec (? 3) | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Yxicayā (?), 10 | [See Remarks on Towns] |

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Yepatepec (?) (7).

### Remarks on Towns

*Acatlan* recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[30] It has been placed in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[31] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[32]

[30] *PNE*, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Moctezuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."
[31] *PNE*, 5: 60.
[32] *PNE*, 1: No. 6.

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| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Acuitlapā, 7 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Chipetlan, 1 | Chiepetlán |
| Malinaltepec, 6 | [No change] |
| Teténancā, 3 | Tenango Tepexi |
| Tlapā, 4 | Tlapa |
| Totomixtlahuacā, 5 | Totemixtlahuaca |
| Ychcateopā, 2 | Ixcateopan |

The remaining seven towns of the *Matricula* cannot be located with any certainty, though there are some additional data available regarding them. These towns are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Acocozpā | Huitzannola |
| Ahuacatla | Ocoapan |
| Amaxac | Xocotla |

Yualan

On the other hand, we may confidently add and locate the following subject towns, thanks to another source: Ayutla (8), Cintla (?) (10), Copalitech (11), and Tototepec (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acuitlapan* is the Quitlapa of today, located southeast of Metlatonoc in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. It is described in colonial days as "Cuytlapa," twelve leagues from Tlapan.[a]

*Ahuacatla,* not located, was five leagues from Tlapan, according to a report which gives it as "Ahuacatitlan."[b]

*Amaxac* probably corresponds to "Atlemaxac" or "Atlimaxax," which was a cabecera one league from Tlapan.[c]

*Ayutla* was clearly tributary,[d] and with it a series of seaboard towns including Cintla and Copalitech.[e]

*Cintla* seems to have lain close to the modern Juchitán(a).[f] It was one of the seaboard towns subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).

[a] *GPM*, p. 106; *PNE*, 1: No. 217.
[b] *GPM*, p. 101.
[c] *GPM*, p. 101; *PNE*, 1: No. 82.
[d] *PNE*, 4: 260: "aquel pueblo de Ayutla antiguamente era de Motecçuma, [con] todos los demas pueblos de la jurisdiçion que fueron sugetos."
[e] *PNE*, 4: 259: "antes que se ganase la tierra, eran todos los pueblos maritimos sujetos al dicho pueblo de Ayutla."
[f] Identification by the writer, in "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 361.

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Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets."[71] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque."[72]

## 34. Tlachquiauco

### Sources of the Map

The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

| Mendocino | Millionth Map |
|---|---|
| Achiotlan, 4 | S. Miguel Achiutla |
| Tlachquiauco, 3 | Tlaxiaco |

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

### Remarks on Towns

*Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it."[73]

*Tlacotepec* appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

*Tlachquiauco* is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

*Çapotlan* appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source."[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

[71] [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted — Analyst]

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635 in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the 114 glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are preserved in the *Méndocino* copy, however. The present map is based [128] chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names are given below:

103

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Coaxomulco, 11 | Cuasimulco |
| Coayxtlahuacā, 6 | Coixtlahuaca |
| Cuicatlan, 7 | Cuicatlán |
| Mictlan, 18 | Mitlatongo |
| Nochiztlan, 15 | Nochixtlán |
| Tamaçolan, 19 | Tamazola |
| Tamaçulapā, 4 | Tamazulápam |
| Tepuzcululā, 13 | Teposcolula |
| Texopan, 5 | Tejúpam |
| Xaltepec, 17 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Yancuitlan, 14 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Çoçolan, 16 | [See Remarks on Towns] |

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12
Chila, 2
Icxitlan, 3
Malinaltepec, 10
Papaloticpac, 8
Petlaltzinco, 1
Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlatlaucca* was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[70] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

[712] *Coayxtlahuacan* was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[71]

*Chila* (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

[70] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llamauan 'calpisques' ... hacian rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlaua a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[71] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauaca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

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632 651 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed through the town.[96]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[97]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[98]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[99]

## 36. Coyolapan

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which [128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

103

| MENDOCINO | MILLIONTH MAP |
|---|---|
| Camotlan, 3 | Camotlán |
| Coyolapan, 21 | Cuilapam |
| Etlan, 9 | Etla |
| Guaxacac, 19 | Oaxaca de Juárez |
| Macuilxochic, 22 | Macuilzóchitl |
| Octlan, 29 | Ocotlán |
| Quauxilotitlan, 10 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Teticpac, 26 | Teftipac (San Sebastian) |
| Tlalcuechahuayã, 24 | [See Remarks on Towns] |

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

[96] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco passuan bastimentos."

[97] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que compravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[98] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Motecçuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Motecçumas esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[99] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de [illegible]."

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Besides the towns identified, many lesser subject towns, discovered through sources other than the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy, should also be listed:

Atepec, 2
Coatlan, 33
Cuixtlan, 32
Chichicapan, 30
Eztetlan (?), 13
Huiztepec, 15
Itzquintepec, 12
Iztepexi, 8
Miahuatlan, 31
Mictlan, 28
Ocelotepec
Quauxiloticpac, 14
Tecuicuilco, 5
Teotitlan del Valle, 23
Teotzacualco, 11
Teozapotlan, 25
Tlacolula, 27
Tlaliztacan, 20
Totomachapa, 16
Xaltianguisco, 4
Xilotepec, 17
Yoloxonecuilan, 1
Zenzontepec, 18
Çoquiapan, 7

### REMARKS ON TOWNS

*Atepec* and three neighbors "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[199]

*Coatlan*, in some unspecified period, rebelled against its chief and sent ambassadors to Mexico to arrange its incorporation into the Empire.[200] Today the town seems to have broken up into a cluster of satellites, of which a rough center has been taken for the map.

*Coyolapan*, now Cuilapa, ought really to be called "Quacuyolapan"—if we are to trust the relación of that town.[201]

*Chichicapan* first belonged to Teozapotlan, but was fighting off attacks from Mixtec neighbors at the moment of the Spanish Conquest, at which time its inhabitants settled matters by allying themselves with Moctezuma.[202]

*Cuixtlan* (32) warred with Tetiquipa to the south, and this may possibly indicate the limits between the province of Coyolapan and the free Mixtec state of Tototepec.[203]

[199] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123. Tecuicuilco, Atepec, Çoquiapa, Xaltiango: "Todos estos quatro Pueblos Reconocian por Rey a munteçuma el qual los Abia conquistado Por fuerças de armas."

[200] *PNE*, 4: 123: "Este dicho pueblo y sus naturales en su antiguedad eran sujetos a vn caçique que se llamaba Coactzi ... hasta que les hizo çierto agrabio y se rebelaron contra el, y ... enbiaron parias a la çuidad de Mexico a Monteçuma ... el qual los recibyo debaxo de su anparo."

[201] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 22.

[202] *PNE*, 4: 115.

[203] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 115.

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175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
712 Ytzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs
632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
651 *tricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17v, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

● 103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located;
[128] and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen on the 1: 100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

| MENDOCINO | 1937 MAP |
|---|---|
| Acalhuacan | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Acolnahuac | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Coatitlan | [No change] |
| Chalco Atenco, 6 | Chalco |
| Puputlan, 4 | Popotlan |
| Tzonpanco, 2 | Zumpango |
| Xaltocan, 3 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Yztacalco, 5 | Iztacalco |
| Çitlaltepec, 1 | Citlaltepec |

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Teçapotitlan: "... paresçe ser que como el gran monteçuma tenia muchas guarniçiones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que siempre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nombre almeria [Nautla] quies En la costa del norte ...." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Pactepec, Ytztepeca, and Quauhtochco.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7



651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [29]
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac' [358]

## 38. PETLACALCO

### SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20' and 20' of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-
gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1:100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

| MENDOCINO | 1937 MAP |
|---|---|
| Auchpanco | Ayapango |
| Cocotlan, 15 | [No change] |
| Colhuacacinco | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Cuitlahuac, 11 | Tlahuac |
| Huiçilopochco, 9 | Churubusco |
| Mizquic, 14 | [No change] |
| Olac, 12 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Petlacalcatl, 8 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Tecalco | [No change] |
| Tecoloapan, 7 | |
| Tepopulan, 16 | [No change] |
| Tezcacoac | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Tzapotitlan, 10 | Zapotitlan |
| Xico, 13 | [No change] |

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

| | |
|---|---|
| Acapan | Tlaçoxiuhco |
| Nextitlan | Toyac |
| Tepechpan | Xaxalpan |
| Tequemecan | Yopico |

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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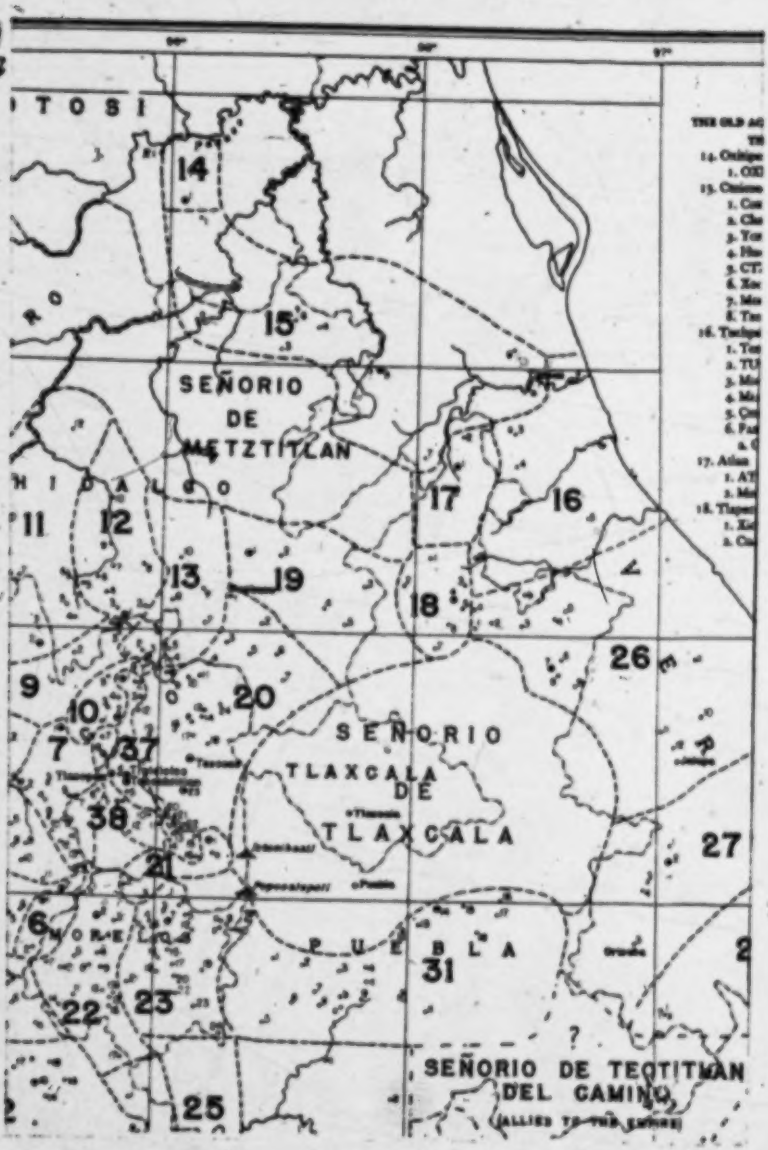
103

[facing p. 144 (A)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103




[Facing p. 144 (B)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

[31
103

[facing p. 144 (c)]

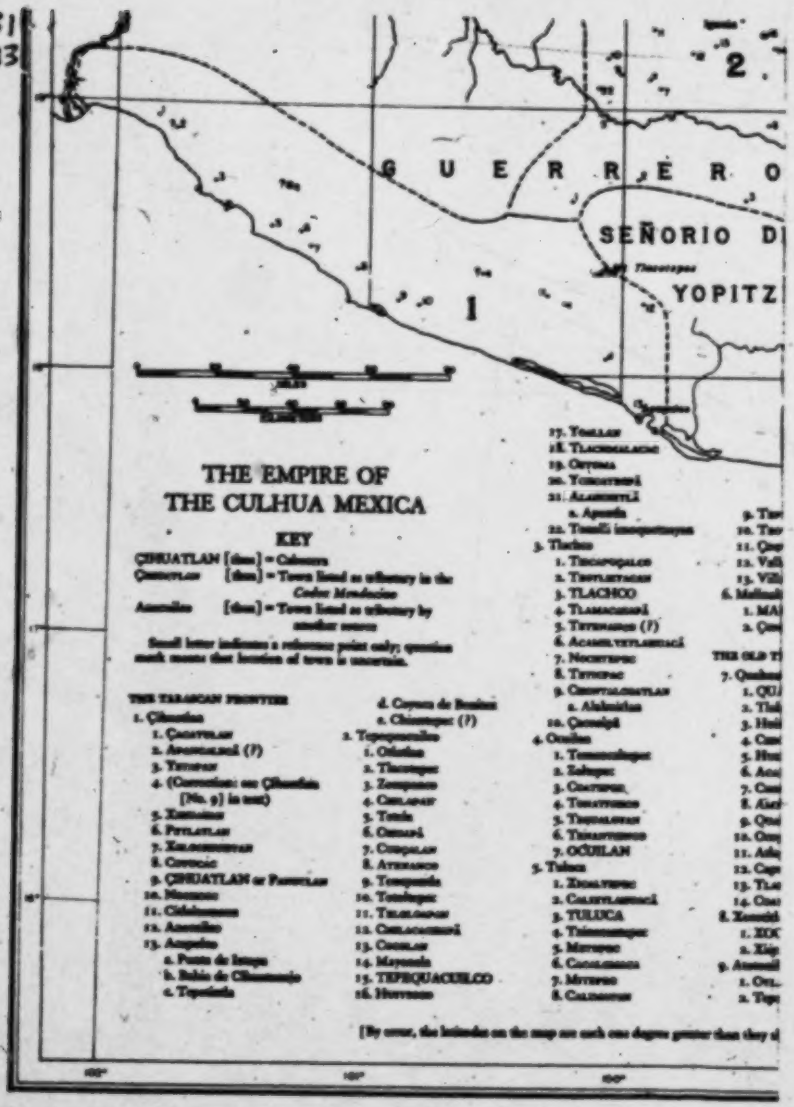
8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Astec NU7

131
103

[facing p. 144 (D)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
●103




## THE EMPIRE OF THE CULHUA MEXICA

### KEY

ÇIHUATLAN [dim.] = Colonies
QUIAHTLAN [dim.] = Towns listed as tributary in the *Codex Mendocino*
AMATLAN [dim.] = Towns listed as tributary by another source

Small letter indicates a reference point only; question mark means that location of town is uncertain.

THE TARASCAN FRONTIER

1. Çihuatlan
   1. Çacatlan
   2. Apoxtlahuacá (?)
   3. Tetepec
   4. (Correction: see Çihuatlan [No. 9] in text)
   5. Xiuhtepec
   6. Pitzotlan
   7. Xilocuepetlan
   8. Cuyuca
   9. ÇIHUATLAN or Panotlan
   10. Nexapan
   11. Cicilotzaucan
   12. Amatlan
   13. Acapulco
      a. Punta de Itzapa
      b. Bahía de Chacanaxio
      c. Tepetitlán
      d. Cuyuca de Benítez
      e. Chiauhtepec (?)
2. Tepequauhtlan
   1. Olinalan
   2. Tlacotepec
   3. Zompanco
   4. Chilapan
   5. Totolin
   6. Ometepec
   7. Cuilapan
   8. Atlixtlahuca
   9. Tenantzinco
   10. Tenalapan
   11. Tlilolapan
   12. Chilacachapan
   13. Cacalan
   14. Mayanala
   15. TEPEQUACUILCO
   16. Huitzuco
   17. Yoallan
   18. Tlachmalacac
   19. Oztoma
   20. Yohuitepec
   21. Alahuiztli
      a. Apanala
   22. Tlemili (unspecified)
3. Tlachco
   1. Tecpoçalco
   2. Teotlixtlahuac
   3. TLACHCO
   4. Tlamacazapa
   5. Tetenanco (?)
   6. Acamilxitlahuacá
   7. Nochtepec
   8. Tetzcpac
   9. Chontlalcuatlan
      a. Alahuiztlan
   10. Quenalpá
4. Ocuilan
   1. Tenantzinco
   2. Zalapa
   3. Coatepec
   4. Tenantitlan
   5. Tlalmalahuac
   6. Tlalatlauhco
   7. OCUILAN
5. Tultenco
   1. Xiuhtepec
   2. Calixtlahuacá
   3. TULUCA
   4. Tzinacantepec
   5. Metepec
   6. Cuauhtenco
   7. Mixtepec
   8. Calimaya

[By error, the latitudes on the map are each one degree greater than they s

[facing p. 144(E)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
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[FACING P. 144 (F)]

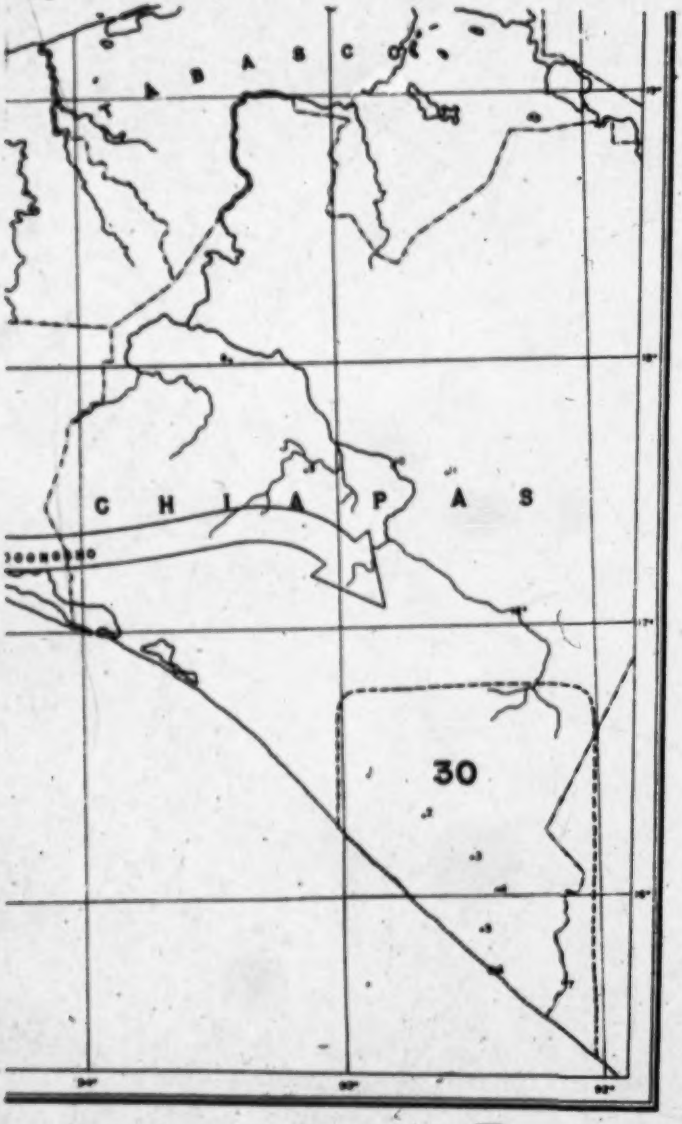
8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103

[Facing p. 144(G)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
●103




[FACING P. 144(H)]

631 order, of the territory of the group. This subdivision could have been a simply territorial subdivision: in wards; but it appears more likely to have some relationship with kinship phenomena, through the mentioning of tlaxilacallis as founded by married couples and campan formed by allied calpullis. These relationships will be absolutely certain if it is demonstrated that the calpulli was a clan, and there certainly are arguments which could lead one to believe that among the Tenochcas the calpullis were clans, as will be seen in the Second Part.

/p. 35/ TABLE OF THE TLAXILACALLIS OF TENOCHTITLAN IN 1637 (1)

631 103 1. There are mentioned in the list the tlaxilacallis which appear in the report of the year of 1637 of Ms. 13994, and in the notes are recorded the differences with respect to the report of the previous year—which is less complete—and some mention of various tlaxilacallis made by Chimalpain in his Diary (which information was sent me by Mr. R. H. Barlow). Naturally the names of the calpullis do not generally coincide with those of tlaxilacallis. [Further footnotes in this table are not interlineated, but appear at the end of the section. —translator.]

| The large ward of St. Juan (2) or Moyotla. | The large ward of St. Pablo or Zoquiapan (3). | The large ward of St. Sebastián or Atzacoalco. | The large ward of St. María or Cuepopan. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tecpancaltitlan (4) | | | |
| Cihuateocaltitlan | | | |
| Teocaltitlan | Teocaltitlan | Teocaltitlan | Teocaltitlan |
| Tzapotla | Tlachcuitlan (11) | Tomatla (12) | Tlacolpan (15) |
| Macpalxochititlan | Ateponazco | Coatlan | Tezcaltzonco |
| Tequicaltitlan | Toltinco | Zacatlan (13) | Analpa |
| Huehuecalco (5) | Huitznahuatonco | Cuitlahuatonco (14) | Copolco |
| Atlampa (6) | | | Atlampa |
| St. Critóbal | Tozcamincan | Cotolco | Colhuacayonco |
| Hueyaztacalco | Temazcaltitlan | | Iztacalecan |
| Tlalcocomoco | Ometochtitlan | | |
| Amanalco | Contzinco | | |
| Petitlan (7) | Zoquipan | | |
| Aticapan | Ocelotzontecontitlan | | |
| Tlatilco | | | |
| Xihuitonco | | | |
| Tequixquipan (8) | | | |
| Necaltitlan | | | |
| Xollohco (9) | | | |
| Acatla | | | |
| Xacalpan (10) | | | |

9:Monzon--33 E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

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2. The names of these "wards" were considered by Vetancourt as names of the calpullis of all of Tenochtitlan, and Bandelier and many authors followed him in his error.

3. Chimalpain called this "large ward" Teopan Xuchititlan (p. 275, Diary [Diario]).

4. Missing in 1636.

5. Also in Chimalpain, p. 13.

6. Tlapa appears in 1636, which is perhaps a mutilated entry.

7. Tepatitlan appears in 1936 [sic. 1636] which seems more correct.

8. Also in Chimalpain, p. 15.

9. Also Chimalpain, p. 219.

10. Xapalca appears in 1636.

11. Also in Chimalpain, p. 251.

12. Also in Chimalpain, p. 13, where it appears as Tonatla.

13. Missing in 1636.

14. Also in Chimalpain, p. 238.

15. Also in Chimalpain, p. 238.

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7



seeds were supplied as required by the different birds. I assure Your Highness that all those birds which ate only fish received each day two hundred and fifty pounds, caught in the salt lakes." (*ibid.*, pp. 265–266).

Such a people could surely have dammed a stream to make an artificial lake, and if they cannot be proved to have done so at Tula, the point is probably not very important.

ICONOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY. The suggestion that the elaborately "historical" description of Tula was a pure invention, prompted by the cattails of the glyph, shows how wary we must be of inferring Aztec ideas from the pictorial manuscripts. Water and aquatic elements are widely scattered through the existing texts, but there is no necessary limnologic significance in the fact, for the symbol for water, *atl*, came to stand for the vowel-sound *a*, and a glyph that seems to the naive eye to show a lacustrine scene is usually nothing but a condensed rebus for a word in which *a* occurs (Peñafiel, 1885). However, the fact remains that Aztec hieroglyphics were caught at a stage in the evolution of syllabic writing in which the rebus is unusually representational, and the iconography itself is not without limnologic interest.

Rands (1955) has discussed Mesoamerican water symbolism in comprehensive fashion, though without particular emphasis on Aztec culture, and has discerned an extraordinary uniformity in diversity. The widespread distribution of sympathetic or imitative magic produces a high degree of constancy, in the art of all peoples, of certain aquatic connotations: rain, growing things, aquatic animals, clouds, liquids produced from various parts of the human body, etc. What Rands has shown is more surprising, a high degree of iconographic constancy, such that the same pictorial symbols (e. g. the columnar-wavy depiction of falling water) recur, in widely different styles and contexts in painting and sculpture from Maya, Mixtec, and Toltec cultures. Of particular importance for our area is the demonstration that Aztec water symbolism descends directly and with little change from Classic times, as represented by the murals of Teotihuacán.

The most satisfactory Aztec representations of water are the glyphs for place-names, because these can be read. Some of the more interesting are illustrated in Figure 3, redrawn by Martha Dimock from Clark's (1938) edition of the Codex Mendoza. The fact that this is a post-Conquest document raises legitimate doubts about the authenticity of some of its Spanish glosses, but the glyphs themselves are surely faithful versions of prototypes in lost Aztec manuscripts. The basis of this confidence is the fundamental similarity between these pictures and those in the Mixtec codices from southern Mexico, which are certainly

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7



103 212 pre-Conquest (Spinden, 1935). Some lacustrine scenes (if that is what they are) are reproduced on Plate II from the Codex Nuttall, published by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University in 1908.

As may be seen in the case of *Acocolco*, "twisted water" (Figure 3 B), the glyph for water is compound, and its several elements reappear in other contexts. Essentially it consists of a stream, painted

*Fig. 3.* Some Aztec place-name glyphs referring to water, lakes, and salt, redrawn by Martha Dimock from the Codex Mendoza (Clark, 1938). A, Hueyapán, "on the lake" (*ueiatl*, lake + *pantli*, banner, ideograph for *pan*, on) (Clark's no. 192). B, *Acocolco*, "twisted water" (*atl*, water + *cocoloa*, to go by twisting and turning) (Clark's no. 352). C, Acozpan, "yellow water" (*atl*, water + *coztic*, yellow) (Clark's no. 578). D, Xalac, "sandy water" (*xalla*, sandy + *atl*, water) (Clark's no. 333). E, Atlán, "near the water" (*atl*, water + *tlanti*, teeth, ideograph for *tlan*, place of) (Clark's no. 606). F, Chilacachapán, "place of *chilacaxtli*" (*chili* + *acaxitl*, small lake, ideograph for *chilacaxtli*, *Azolla* sp.; combined with *atl*, water) (Clark's no. 430). G, Tequixquiac, "saltpeter water" (*tequixquitl*, saltpeter + *atl*, water) (Clark's no. 16). H, Zilán, "shells" (Clark's no. 116). I, Tamazolan, "toad" (Clark's no. 517). J, Iztatlán, "near the salt" (*iztatl*, salt + *tlantli*, teeth, ideograph for *tlan*, near) (Clark's no. 161). K, Iztacalco, "salt house" (Clark's no. 232). L, Ayotlán, "turtle" (Clark's no. 560). M, Tollán, "cattails" (Clark's no. 66). N, Chalco, "jewel" (*chalchihuitl*, jadeite + *co*, in).

turquoise-blue, with eddies and waves. At the tips of the waves, usually in alternation, the Aztec glyph shows two sorts of symbols, and these alone may represent water, as in *Acozpan*, "yellow water" (3C). One of these is a shell, and reappears by itself in *Zilán* (3H). The other, though interpreted as a drop by Clark, is almost certainly a precious

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7



stone, *chalchiuhtl*, and is a miniature of the full glyph as it occurs in the name *Chalco* (3N). The relation among shells, jewels, and water is made clear on Plate 103 of the de la Cruz-Badianus herbal (Emmart's edition, 1940), where it is said that whoever would cross a river or a lake in safety is to carry in his hand a beryl, both "head" and viscera of a snail, and a sardonyx, while in his mouth he should carry the eye of a large fish. Presumably either "beryl" or "sardonyx" of both stem from mis-translations into Latin of the Nahuatl *chalchiuhtl*, which is ordinarily jadeite, but in this context is probably green turquoise. The stone was sacred to the water goddess *Chalchiuhtlicue* and would be understandably related to water on account of its color. As to the snails, four or five kinds, all with viscera, are illustrated in the Mixtec codex, one (at the left side of the top figure of Plate II) being obviously identical with the shell of the Aztec glyphs. It is probably an *Oliva*, judging from the wide use of this type for ornaments in Mesoamerica, but from the picture itself it could equally well be a freshwater melaniid. This or a similar gastropod also forms the basis of the most famous of all Mesoamerican symbols, the Maya glyph for zero. The larger snails with spines are probably *Murex* or *Purpura*, which, as the source of purple dye that was used in this codex, have both a magical and a practical connection with water.

The fact that some or all of the shells are marine presumably led Spinden (1928, p. 247) to identify the page from the Codex Nuttall (here shown at the top of Plate II) as "the conquest of a town situated on an island of the sea", and Thompson (1933, p. 245) made the same inference. The alligator, on the other hand, is not marine, and two other creatures appear to be partly mythical: the serpent, and the fish with the head of a bird, which answers the description of Sahagún's *totomichin*. The association is clearly with water in general, and if the painting represents any particular body of water the fact that it is enclosed by banks suggests that a lake is intended. The question can probably be settled eventually by identification of the island; for example, if the frieze at the base of the island in Plate II top, were black and white, instead of brown, red, and blue, we would know it to be Tilantongo (Caso, 1949).

What is particularly interesting is that while water in general is commonly represented by a stream drawn in plan, even when the stream is dry, as in *Xalac* (3D), "sandy water", lakes are commonly shown in section. *Hueyapán* (3A), "on the lake", is an exception, but as waves, jewels, and shells are all missing from this glyph it has a close resemblance to the glyph for "mirror" that is probably intentional. *Atlán* (3E), "near the water", *Chilácachapán* (3F), "place of

10:Deevey N-4 (no date)1957 NU7 Aztec NU7



*chilacaxtli* = *Azolla* sp.", and *Tequixquiac* (3G), "saltpeter water", all contain the idea of a lake as well as the sound for water, and all are shown in section. The ideology behind the glyphs was undoubtedly formed before the Aztecs entered the Valley of Mexico, during their wanderings through semi-arid country where streams are of vital importance and lakes are small and astatic. Moreover, the glyph for flowing water is a horizontal waterfall, and is the widespread and ancient Mesoamerican columnar stream, (Rands, 1955), rotated 90 degrees. It is probably no accident that streams are shown as something to be crossed, while lakes are thought of as bodies of water with definite boundaries and *containing* useful objects.

The remaining glyphs of Figure 4 require little comment. *Tamazolan* (3I), "toad", is perfectly clear, and Sahagún gives this as the meaning, but Clark interprets it as "frog". *Iztatlán* (3J), "near the salt", is a salt-pan, with *tlantli*, teeth, showing the place-name ending, while *Iztacalco* (3K), "salt house", is literally that: an earthen *pila* serving as a filtration apparatus in which the clear salt water is collected before being placed in the evaporation basin shown at the top. *Ayotlán* (3L), "turtle", is obviously a freshwater species, probably *Kinosternon hirtipes*, though Clark's interpretation ("a captured turtle on its back") shows confusion with the marine *Chelone*, whose name was *chimalmichin* ("shield fish"). *Tollán* (3M), "cattails", has been discussed in the previous section.

If the Aztecs commonly thought of lakes edge-on, so to speak, they were perfectly capable of showing them in plan. For cartographic purposes it would be essential to show a bird's-eye view, and there are many indications that Aztec cartography was well developed (Linné, 1948). No certain examples have survived, unless we except the famous "maguey plan" (Toussaint *et al.*, 1938) that shows part of the city of Tenochtitlán. This map is not on maguey paper, as Maudslay (1910) and many others have believed, but on native paper made of *Ficus* bark (Lenz, 1948), and unpublished work by D. Robertson suggests that it is in fact a pre-Conquest document on which later elements, such as churches, have been superimposed. Whether pre-Conquest or not, it shows the lake of Mexico only by implication, as empty space off the edge of the city. The Codex Xólotl, an early but not pre-Conquest Texcocan pictographic manuscript, clearly shows the Valley lakes with a string of mountains overlooking them, but not in a way suggesting that a map was intended. The nearest equivalent to an Aztec map of a lake is probably the "Aztlán" picture in the Codex Boturini, reproduced in Figure 4. In fact, since the two earliest European maps of the lake of Mexico (in the 1524 Nuremberg edition of Cortés' Letters

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



643 The power to appoint, which the "chief of men" enjoyed within the limits of the official household, implied, to the same extent, the power to remove and to punish. It was not even necessary to refer such cases to the action of the council.

In punishing summarily acts of insubordination, or of treachery, when committed during warfare, the "chief of men" acted as commander-in-chief and in strict compliance with the duties of that office.

Lastly, a certain amount of discretionary power was necessarily vested in the chief commander for the public good. Placed at the "tecpan" to "watch, guard and protect" the tribe and the confederacy, it was necessary to empower the "Tlacatecuhtlli" in cases of great urgency, to act "on the spur of the moment." It was not a privilege of royalty or a despotic right, but an obligation resulting from the nature of the office.

643 692 Consequently the "chief of men" was not, properly, the executioner of tribal justice either. This duty devolved upon other war-chiefs of lower rank, who, although superior in command to the leaders of the kins, when on the war-path, never otherwise interfered with the duties of the latter, any more than tribal jurisdiction conflicted with that of the autonomous kins. These chiefs were the "four leaders of the four great quarters of Mexico Tenuchtitlan,"[271] or, as we have already intimated, of the four *phratries* into which the twenty kins had again agglomerated for religious and military purposes. These four "great quarters," named respectively, "Moyotlan," "Teopan," "Aztacalco" and "Cuepopan,"[272] were not, as the current notion has it, so many governmental subsections, or wards of aboriginal Mexico. Shells

even treat them as traitors, and secure their persons to prevent injury to the public cause. All this, of course, provided the story be true!

The cases where secrecy is enjoined under penalty of death, are so plain that no illustration is needed. The "chief of men" had the right, in preparing general business, to give secret orders, to detail particular persons on secret missions. Anyone divulging the secrets entrusted to him, committed an act of treason, and therefore it was necessary that he should be chastised on the spot and on the spur of the moment, to obviate further mischief.

[271] "*Art of War*" (pp. 120, 121 and 122, especially notes 97, 99 and 101).

103 [272] The formation of these geographical circumscriptions I have already explained. The names can, in part, be etymologized. They are respectively: "Moyotlan" or place of the mosquito, from "moyotl," mosquito (*Molina* II. p. 56); "Teopan" or place of God, from "Teotl," God; "Aztacalco," "place of the house of the heron," from "Aztatl," heron (*Molina* I, p. 15 and II, p. 10), and "calli," house; "Cuepopan" or "place of the dyke," from "cuepotli," dyke (*Molina* I, p. 23, II, p. 36). All of which are, respectfully, submitted.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7



of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic cluster.[272] Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochcalcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlacatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuauhnochtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.[274] They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants — military lieutenants as it were — to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."[275] Their

[273] These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian wards of Mexico, named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Atzacaloo), Santa Maria (Cuepopan). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Velancurt* ("*Crónica*," etc., p. 134). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 42). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "councillors;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58), which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) and also by *Sahagun* (Lib. XXX. p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino," . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli"—"barrio" or localized kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed *military* bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezozomoc*. The truth of this fact has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 404 and 405) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides, found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Michuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

[274] *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 103 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent, immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpanecs, and before the confederacy with the Tezcucans and Tlacopans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 326) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 493), while "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

[275] It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-woman;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con-